XVII.—*DIALOGUS INTER CORPUS ET ANIMAM:* A FRAGMENT AND A TRANSLATION.

1. Manuscripts and Editions.

"The fictitious quarrel," to borrow the thought of Heine, "which Christianity has cooked up between the body and the soul" formed in mediæval times a literary *motif* which attained to considerable popularity among both authors and readers. The single Latin poem, for example, with which we are here alone concerned, and the authorship of which has long been one of the debatable questions of literary history, has come down to us in at least fifteen manuscripts, and doubtless others will come to light. Of these MSS. Wright, in *The Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Mapes*, London, 1841, p. 95, mentions ten, as follows: 1) Harl. 978 fol. 88 v°; 2) Harl. 2851 [fol. omitted]; 3) Cott. Titus A xx. fol. 163 r°; 4) Cott. Calig. A xi. fol. 164 v°; 5) Roy. 8 B vi. fol. 18 v°; 6) Camb. Ee vi. 29 art. 1; 7) Corp. Chr. Coll. 481; 8) Bodl. 110 (Bern. 1963); 9) Douce 54 fol. 36 v°; 10) Univ. Coll. B 14. Wright also refers to the edition of Th. von Karajan (*Frühlingsgabe für Freunde älterer Literatur*, Wien, 1839, pp. 85–98) from MS. 3121 (formerly Historia Profana 279) in the Wiener Hofbibliothek.[1] Three MSS. are mentioned by Du Méril in his *Poésies populaires latines antérieures au douzième siècle*, p. 217: 1) Bibl. roy., fonds du Saint-Victor 472 fol. 289 r°; 2) Bibl. de Bruxelles 4363, unpaged; 3) Bibl. Mazarine 438, unpaged. Lastly, the

[1]At the end of his Latin text von Karajan speaks of two other MSS. which Hoffmann von Fallersleben had mentioned to him too late to be of use in this edition, and says: "*Ich . . . . will die Ausbeute seiner Nachweisungen, wenn mir erst Abschriften jener Aufzeichnungen werden zugekommen sein, bei nächster Gelegenheit veröffentlichen.*" I have been unable to find out whether these notes were ever published, and should be glad if anyone could tell me.

fifteenth MS., containing the fragment which is printed below, is now in the President White Library of Cornell University, and may conveniently be called the White MS.

This manuscript, from which nothing, so far as is known, has hitherto been published, is a parchment dating probably from the first half of the fourteenth century,[1] and consisting of two detached leaves or four pages, 24.5 x 18.5 centimeters in size, written throughout in one hand. The contents of these pages are as follows:

1. The first eleven lines of fol. 1 r° belong in substance with four preceding pages from which the present four were separated before the MS. came to Cornell, and which contained, according to the description of a former owner, Dr. Gerhard Hennen, of Trier, from whom it passed into the possession of the President White Library, short chapters on medical and hygienic topics, as, for example, *utilitatis et nocumentum balnei; nocumentum frigidi balnei; quibus conveniat balneum ante cibum; de usu coitus; de gaudio et timore; de cibariis non competentibus multum; de febribus; de potu; laudes et bonitates vini; de horis comedendi.*

2. A discussion, filling twenty-five lines of fol. 1 r° and eight lines of fol. 1 v°, beginning: Hæc su*n*t v*ir*tutes syrupi extracti de serpe*n*te; and ending: Explicit syrupus serpentinus.

3. A description, in eight hexameter lines, of the four temperaments, beginning: Largus ama*n*s hylaris ride*n*s rubeique coloris; and ending: no*n* expers fraudis timidus lutei que coloris. Fol. 1 v°.

4. A fragment of the poem *Dialogus inter Corpus et Animam*, including, according to the line-numbering of Wright, ll. 1–25, 155–288, and filling the remaining fourteen lines of fol. 1 v°[2] and all of fol. 2. This is printed below.

[1] Dr. Hennen, of Trier, dates it about 1325–1340.

[2] Also, on the right margin of fol. 1 v°, in a somewhat later hand, are the following words: Benedictus rex gl*or*ie qui tue memorie dedisti nobis signaculum *et cetera* id est sacramentum | Sumu*n*t boni sumunt mali sacra-

Of printed editions of the *Dialogus*, there are at least four, as follows:

1. That of Christian von Stökken, Hamburg, 1669, now apparently a very rare book. Von Karajan could find no copy in Vienna in 1839.[1] Wright had not seen the book; Du Méril refers to it,[2] but since he does not further allude to it, he probably copied the title from von Karajan. The British Museum Library did not possess a copy in 1882, although it did possess von Stökken's *Disputatio de virga Aaronis florida, ex Numer. cap.* XVII, Wittenberg, 1685. I have searched in vain through many printed and some manuscript catalogues of libraries, and am therefore inclined to believe that besides the copy in the President White Library at Cornell, which Professor Burr picked up in Cologne, there are not many in existence. The book is a small quarto, bearing on the title-page the following:

ANIMÆ DAMNATÆ | LAMENTA ET | TORMENTA, | Rhythmis non inconcinnis Ano- | nymo Authore ante seculum, & quod | excurrit, expressa, | quibus | subjunguntur | RHYTHMI | de extremo Judicio, | & Trinitatis mysterio, | quos | emendatos, & ad Orthodoxiam reformatos, | in Vernaculam eodem Rhythmi genere transtulit, & variis | variorum tàm Veterum quàm Recentiorum sententiis ad | marginem illustravit, | Christianus von Stökken / Reverendissimi | Episcopi Lubecensis Pastor Aulicus & | Superintendens. | HAMBURGI, | Impensis CHRISTIANI Guht / Bibliop. | Literis MICHAELIS PFEIFFERI, | Anno 1669.

An idea of the contents of the *Prolegomena* may be gained from the chapter headings:

mentum pariter signo quidem in equali *et cetera* ʘs tangis signi specie *et cetera* | Fixum crucis patibulo pro redimendo populo nunc a nobis assumitur corpus dum signum editur *et cetera* | . . . . Of the rest a part of the following line can be seen, but so much has been cut away as to make it illegible. It will be observed that the above is in part metrical. Its source I am as yet unable to determine. On the use of the character ʘ cp. Hagen, in his facsimile of Cod. Bern. 363, Lugduni Batavorum, 1897, p. xxviii.; and the modern use of the sign by astronomers to indicate the sun.

[1] *Frühlingsgabe*, p. 164.

[2] *Poésies pop. lat. ant. au* XII[e] *siècle*, p. 219, bibl. note.

1. *Poeseos Rhythmicæ Origo ex Sixt. Sen. Bibl. Sacr. Lib.* III. 2. *Teutones non Latinis, sed hi illis Rhythmos debent.* 3. *Authores Mantissæ.* 4. *Argumentum Querelæ Dialogisticæ Ex Augustino Serm.* XLVIII. *ad Fratres in Eremo Tom.* X. 5. *Scopus Querelæ Dialogisticæ, Historiâ Fulconis divitis explicatus, ex Drexel. Consider.* V. *Æternit, Tom.* I. *Oper.* p. 18. 6. *Inhalt des kläglichen Seelen-Gesprächs | In einer Betrachtung über des Cresus Grabe vorgestellet | Aus des Herrn von Serre süssen Todes-Gedancken. | cap.* VI, *104. folg.* 7. *Ursach Warum auch fremde Zeugnissen am Rande mit sind angeführet worden. Aus des Petr. Mol. B. vom Erkentniss Gottes | fast am Ende.*

The Latin text is printed in six-syllable lines and is accompanied by a German metrical translation, as well as by many illustrative quotations—*annotationibus Theologicis, Philosophicis, & Philologicis*—from Latin and German literature. In addition to the *Dialogus* the book contains also, "*mantissæ loco,*" *Devota extremi judicii* MEDITATIO *Autore quidem vetusto, incerto tamen* [*Dies iræ*] and *Rhythmi Hildeberti De Sacro-sanctâ Trinitate.*

In his *Præfatio* von Stökken says that he took the *Dialogus* from a programme printed at Hamburg in 1638 and bearing this title:

Querela Dialogistica Animæ & Corporis | damnati, | Pro peccatorum cordibus ad Pœnitentiam excitandis, | Anonymo quodam | Authore. | Nisi Pœnitentiam egeritis, omnes simul peribitis, &c. | Memorare novissima tua, & in æternum non | peccabis.

Whether the *Dialogus* MS. from which the text in this programme was printed is still in existence, is not known. There is no reason, however, to suppose that even von Stökken ever saw it. He did not follow even his printed original with fidelity, but made some eighteen or twenty changes, a list of which, however, he is careful to give. In order to facilitate further study of the subject, I have thought it desirable to describe von Stökken's text by giving a list of its variations from Wright's text, with which it would appear to have the greatest affinity (and at the end, from Du Méril's). These follow:

2 somno spiritali; 5 Cum dormirem 6 nuper qui egressus 8 Corporis cum gemitu planxerat 9 Anima stetit 10 Illud & cum gemitu hæc [*in original* sic] interrogavit: 11 Corpus ô miserrimum 12 Quod sat heri prosperè vana Sors 13 mundus pridiè tibi 15 Ubi nunc familia, 16 tua florida tandem [*in original* jam nunc] 17 petris de 18 palatiis 19 Nunc delatum feretro 20 Jaces & in tumulo breviore 21 Tibi quid palatia prosunt, 22 tuos capit 23 Quenquàm falsò judicans postmodùm [*in original* amodo] 24 Per te data nobis est 25 Ego, inquam, Anima, nobilis 27 Caro tu miserrima mecum es damnata 28 Scires si supplicia nobis præparata, 29 Verè posses dicere; heu! cur fui nata? 30 Utinam ad tumulum essem mox translata! 31–33 *in part condensed above; the rest lacking* 35 benè facere 36 Sed *omitted;* Semper me ad 38 Pœnis in acerrimis 39 Nullæ linguæ seculi dicerent 40 Ullam pœnam 41 Sed quod magis doleo, veniam non 43 Celsa vel 45 quam tu plus 46 Ubi lecti strati sunt fulgidi 47 Vestis mutatoria 48 placidi saporis? 49 Vasa, mensæ, gausape 50 Ubi modò volucres, caro vel 51 Vel murenæ nobiles, vel electa vina? 52 Non agnorum gregibus redolet coquina: 53 *lacking* 56 Ejus nonnè 57 Jam clauduntur oculi, 58 Nihil tibi superest, quod jam 59 Quicquid dudum miserô 61 Varia per tempora magno cum 62 rapit mors, summô cum pudore. 63 Modô non 65 Rapitur cujùslibet 66 Cessat & tristitia tuæ jam 67 *lacking* 68 postmodùm non 69 Quoniam te mortuo manent Bacchus, Ceres, 70 Et thesauri copia, pro quâ pœnas feres, 71 Mortem tuam breviter tuus plangit hæres. 72 Dubito, an mulier 75 Pœnis his eximerent, 76 Jam scis Caro misera, quàm sit malè 77 Mundi nequam Gloria, 78 Plenior doloribus, vitiis 81 duo vix 83 nulla dant tributa. 84 *lacking* 85 Quamvis nondum sentias hîc 86 Scias, quòd suppliciis non sis 88 Quòd tormenta postmodùm mecum sis 89 Rodunt te in tumulô vermes & putredo, 90 Qui non eras pauperum Pater, verùm prædo, 91 Tecum diu nequeo stare, sed 92 Nec te ad opposita responsurum 93 Anima talia 94 Sese corpus erigit, 96 Quærit, quis locutus hic talia 97 Tunè meus Spiritus ades, qui sic faris? 98 Vera non sunt omnia quæ tu loquebaris, [*a good guess, cp. l.* 97 *in W.; in original* quæ causaris] 100 Licet quædam vera sint, plurima 101 Mihi tribuis, quòd te vidimus peccantem, [*in original* Feci te multoties in multis errare] 102 Et virtutis semitam sæpe declinantem, 103 Carnis culpa minor est, (moneo errantem) [*in original* Sed si caro faciat animum errare,] 104 Major culpa spiritûs, audias probantem. 105 Dæmonium fœdus pepigere, 106 Carnem hi miserrimam secum conjunxere, 107 Quam si rigor Animi cesset coërcere, 108 In peccati foveam cadunt ambo verè. 109 *lacking* 110 Sed ut mihi dixeras, 111 Raram, bonam, nobilem, sensu te ditavit, 113 et *omitted* 114 condita fuisti, 115 Atque data ratio, 116 mihi cursavisti? 117 Rebus in 118 Estnè justum, carnem ut Animam 119 sinit ancillari? 120 Corpus hoc per 123 Ejus adminiculô 124 Caro (si per Spiritum hæc non sustentatur) [*in original* Caro quæ per spiritum non suppeditatur,] 125 Mundi per

127 Carni sine Spiritu nihil innotescit; 128 Si, quod jubes, exequor, culpa tibi crescit, 129 Cato [= Caro] sine Spiritu mortua quiescit. 130 Si ad opus Spiritûs votum deducatur, 131 Carnem per pedissequam, caro quid culpatur? 132 per quam imperatur, 133 Id quod 134 Carne quidem graviùs tu peccasti, crede, 136 mea viscera 138 Adhuc dixit Anima: tecum 139 Tua, quantum potero, dicta refrenare: 140 Quare [*in original* ut quid (ad quid)] mihi 142 Caro tu miserrima vivens quæ 143 Stulta, vana, frivola; 144 asperrima, quæ nunc 146 Istud enim consonum 147 Restitisse debui 148 Tua sed 149 Nugis mundi dedita 150 *lacking* 151 Nam te quando volui, 152 Verbere, vigiliis, fame te 153 cœpit effrenare, 154 Et coëgit sæpiùs frivolis vacare. 155 Ita tu dominium in me accepisti, 156 Perditrix domestica mihi [*in original* de me] sic 157 Mundi per blanditias priùs me 158 In peccati puteum tandem me misisti. 159 Sed *omitted* 160 Te cum essem 'Dominæ nunquam 161 Sed tu me 162 Unde culpâ digna es atque pœnâ 163 Mundi si delicias, dolos machinantis, 164 quia & incantantis 165 astutias, cœlo si tonantis 166 essem nunc in sanctis. 167 Verùm, cum tripudiis 168 Tibi vitam prosperam 169 Quod non mori crederes: at mors hæc 170 Cum te de palatiô ad sepulchrum 172 Suaviter quos excipit, 173 Mortis per rigorem, 174 post divitias 175 Tibi qui dum vixeras, socii 176 Habitantem tumulo 177 cœpit statim [*in original* quasi] 178 Verbis & 181 Oppida construere, 182 Nunquam sanè credidi, tumbam hanc 183 Optimè nunc video, quod & satis 184 Nunquam auri 185 Honos, vis, scientia, virtus nec herbarum, 186 stimulum amarum. 187 Ambo quidem possumus cœlitùs 188 Et culpamur, fateor, 191 Cujus sensus frigido morbô non gravatur, [*in original same as W.*] 192 Novit, Jura clamitant, Ratio 193 Cui plus præ cæteris gratiæ 194 Magis hic de debito tandem postulatur. 195 quin & intellectum, 196 sensum & 197 Quibus cautè frangeres fervidum 198 Et amares perpetim id, quod erat 199 florida fuisti, 200 Et tu mihi fatua 201 Meis & blanditiis minùs 202 tu plus 203 Addo: (licet referam 204 Mihi tamen erit hoc argumento claro) [*in original* quod mihi jam potens est, argumento] 205 nunquid agit Caro? 206 Num se movet postea 207 Mortua nil loquitur: Illud ergo 208 quod *omitted* 209 Cœli Numen Animæ si fuisset charum, [*in original* Si haberet anima Deum suum charum, *cp. W.*] 211 Si amasses cœlicum Dominum 213 Nec pravorum hominum adhæsisses 214 Nec me 215 Quæ vivebam splendidè, sericis amicta, 216 Ecce quæ de omnibus mihi sunt 217 Fœtor atque caries, Et hæc domus 218 Quîbus post delicias mundi sum amicta! 219 Novi hæc prætereà, quod sim 220 Tempore novissimô tecum deîn 221 Pœnas mortis perpetes: heu mors illa 222 Mors intolerabilis! 223 voce sub 224 Heu cur vixi misera 225 Heu! cur dixit Dominus? hæc sit 226 Nonnè Deus noverat, quòd sim 227 Felix est conditio 229 loca 231 dêinde loquitur 233 Mihi, quæso, recita, ibi quæ 234 de favore [*in original same as W.*] 235 Ibi quid nobilibus redditur 236 Quas fortuna fulgidis coluit in 237 Non relicta illis est 238 Tantâ pro pecuniâ 239 tua quæstio 240 Cum

infernum subeunt inferûm 241 *omitted* 242 Redemtione 243 pro Eleêmosynis, 244 Tota si fidelium pietas 245 Totam si pecuniam mundus omnis 246 Tota si jejuniis regio 247 nunquam 248 *omitted* 249 Nullam Dæmon solveret, 250 In inferno Animam suis ex 251 Pro centenis millibus 252 Nec momentum sineret, ut 253 Istud quæris etiam ibi quid agatur 254 Viris cum Nobilibus? audi, lex hîc 255 quod *omitted* 257 fortê si damnatur, 258 Gravibus præ cæteris, pœnis implicatur, 258a Quantô quis deliciis magis delectatur, 258b Tantô pœna gravior illi deputatur. 259 promserat mœrores, 261 Nulli quas describere poterant Scriptores, 262 Omnium nec pingere climatum 263 Ferreos in manibus stimulos gerentes, 264 Ignem mixtum sulphure 266 Visi sunt ex narribus cadere 267 *omitted* 268 Aures erant patulæ, 269 Videram [*in original* & erant] in frontibus 270 cornuum toxicum 272 cum funiculis 273 Quam ad fauces Erebi querulam 274 Mox maligni spiritus passim occurrerunt, 275 Qui triumphum asperis dentibus striderunt. 276 Quidam vetô [*for* vero] horridis votis 277 Quidam cum corrigiis ipsam perstrinxerunt, 278 Quidam uncis ferreis ipsam discerpserunt, 279 Quidam plumbum ferreum desuper fuderunt. 280 Quidam fimum stercorum in os 281 Quidam ejus faciem totam perminxerunt, 282 Quidam suis dentibus ipsam corroserunt, 283 Demum & à corpore pellem detraxerunt. 284–286 *partly omitted, partly condensed above* 287 Adhæc dicunt Dæmones quasi 289 Passis modô dicere 290 Debes verô centuplûm 291 Lassa tandem Anima 292 Atque voce tremulâ 293 barathri limen subintravit, 294 *omitted* 295 Ejulans insonuit: Jesu! Fili David! 296 Conclamantes Dæmones responderunt 298 Parûm prodest dicere [*in original* amodo]: 299 nec requiei. 300 Non videbis postea radios [*in original* Non tamen de cætero videbis] diei. 301 Decor jam mutabitur 302 dehinc aciei, 303 Erit apud inferos hoc solamen ei. 304 *omitted* 306 Atque raptus extra me mox [*in original* & extra me positus mox evigilavi.] 307 Et expansus manibus Deum acclamavi, 308 eximat istâ pœnâ gravi. 309 Suis mox cum frivolis Mundum condemnavi, 310 nihil reputavi,

[With *Et me Christi manibus totum commendavi* conclude both Wright's and von Karajan's texts. From this point on, therefore, are given von Stökken's variations from Du Méril's text. In the latter the line beginning *Ecce mundus moritur* I mark no. 309*.]

310* fit stultus, 311* Christi cultus, 312* Est in mundo 313* pergit his diebus 314* Facti Dî sunt iterum 316* Sceptris, aciebus 317* Theologicê charitas vocantur, 320* Istis, jam in seculo 321* vultu sis serenus, 322* Sis benignus, humilis, 323* Hæc nil tibi proderunt, 324* Sola nam pecunia 326* Variâ familiâ undique stipatus, 327* & morigeratus,[1] 328* meus tu cognatus[2] 329* defecerint 330* morte refrigescit,

[1] The reading of Du Méril, *morigenatus*, is probably inferior, although *morigenatus* is found; cp. Du Cange, *Glossarium*, s. v. *moriginatus*.

[2] Obviously better than *et tuus cognatus*.

331* Cessat & notitia, Ille me tum nescit, 334* virus ô amarum! 336* Id, quod transit citiùs flamma quàm 337* Mundus si divitibus tria posset 338* Thesaurorum cumulum, tumulum vitare, 340* vellent, credo, terram hanc cœlo commutare, 341* ista Mors compescit, 342* qui non morti 343* Hic, si vivit hodie, fortè cras 344* Cuîque prorsus hominum parcere jam 345* Quando genus hominum Morti deputatur, 346* Tunc ad certum terminum homo deportatur; 347* Contremisce jugiter, dum mens meditatur: 348* Quid es, & quò properas, quid tibi paratur? 349* Dum de morte cogito, tristor atque ploro, 350* Certum est, quod moriar, tempus at ignoro, 351* Mens prophana dubitat, quorum adsit choro, 352* Ego, jungar ut suis, Deum supplex oro!

[Here ends von Stökken's text, with: *Finis scripti: sed ubi es, O supplicii* FINIS.]

2. The next printed edition was that of the Ritter Theodor Georg von Karajan, in his *Frühlingsgabe*, pp. 85–98, from the Vienna MS. (see above), published at Vienna in 1839. In addition to the text of two Middle High German versions of the dispute, von Karajan appends a learned and interesting discussion of the various European versions.

3. The edition of Thomas Wright, in the work above cited, pp. 95–106, from Harl. MS. 978, collated with von Karajan's printed text. This appeared in London in 1841. Wright likewise adds several other versions and a bibliographical note.

4. The edition of M. Edélestand Du Méril, in the work above cited, pp. 217–230, from the three MSS. which he mentions (see above), and which he considers much superior to the Vienna and Harleian MSS.

A critical edition of the *Dialogus* remains a desideratum.

2. The White Fragment.

Here follows the text of the White MS.[1] Abbreviations have, as usual, been amplified.

[1] For cordial permission to publish this text and for valuable aid of more than one kind in preparing this paper, I am indebted to my teacher, Professor George L. Burr, librarian of the President White Library, who purchased the MS. from Dr. Hennen and brought it to Ithaca.

Noctis sub sile*n*tio te*m*po*r*e brumali · ·
Deditus q*uo*da*m*mo*do* so*m*pno spiritali
corpus care*n*s vid*er*e sp*irit*u vitali ·
De quo michi visio fit sub forma tali ·
Dormita*n*do paululu*m* vigila*n*do fess*us* ·
Ecce quida*m* sp*iritu*s nouit*er* egress*us* ·
De p*re*d*ic*to corp*or*e viciis opp*re*ssus ·
qui carnis cu*m* gemitu sic pla*n*git excessus ·
Juxta corp*us* sp*iritu*s stetit *et* plorauit ·
et hiis v*er*bis acrit*er* corp*us* increpauit ·
O caro mis*er*rima q*ui*s te sic p*ro*strauit ·
qu*am* mu*n*dus te[1] ta*m* p*ro*sp*er*e p*re*diis ditauit ·
no*n*ne tibi p*ri*die mu*n*dus subdabat*ur* ·
no*n*ne te p*ro*ui*n*cia tota verebatur ·
quo nu*n*c e*st* familia q*ue* te seq*ue*batur ·
cauda tua te seque*n*s ia*m* nunc a*m*putatur · ·
no*n* es nu*n*c i*n* turrib*us* de petris quadratis · ·
Sic nec i*n* palacio magne largitatis ·
iaces nu*n*c i*n* feretro p*ar*ue qu*an*titatis ·
Repone*n*da tumulo t*ib*i marmor e*st*[2] satis ·
q*ui*d val*ent* palacia pulch*ra* uel q*ui*d edes ·
vix nu*n*c tuus tumulus septe*m* capit pedes ·
q*uan*q*uam* falsa iudicas a*m*mo*do* no*n* ledes
p*er* te mo*do* misera e*st* i*n* inf*er*no sedes
ego q*ue* ta*m* nob*i*lis fu*er*am [creata]. . . .

. . . .

fol. 2 r° [Et ita dominium de me] suscepisti
fam*i*l*i*aris p*ro*ditrix mihique fuisti
p*er* mu*n*di bla[nditias me post te trax]isti
et peccati puteo suauit*er* m*er*sisti ·
Scio me culpabi[lem nam in hoc erraui]

[1] A line is drawn through this word; evidently the word was a scribal error.

[2] Permitted by the sense; but it obviously spoils the metre.

q*uod* cu*m* essem d*omi*na te no*n* refrenaui
S*ed* cu*m* [me] decep*er*as fraude ta*m* suaui
crede q*uod* deliq*ue*ras pena magis graui ·
S*ed*[1] [mu*n*]di delicias dolos adula*n*tis
despexisses fatua sic *et* i*n*canta*n*tis ·
de[m]onis bla*n*dicias *et* celi tona*n*tis ·
adhesisses mo*nitis* essem*us* cu*m* s*an*ctis ·
s*ed* cu*m* tibi p*ri*die mu*n*di q*uis* arrisit ·
et via*m* diutina*m* firmit*er* p*ro*misit
mori nos putau*er*as s*ed* mors hec elisit ·
q*uando* de palac*io* tum*u*lo te misit
homi*num* falle*n*cium mu*ndus* habet more*m* ·
quos magis a*m*plectitur qui [= cui] dat honore*m* ·
illos fall*it* cici*us* p*er* necis rigore*m* ·
et dat p*o*st delicias v*er*mes *et* fetore*m* ·
q*ui* t*ib*i cu*m* vixeras amici fu*er*e
iace*n*te*m* in tum*u*lo uolu*n*t[2] te uidere ·
corp*us* hoc intellige*n*s stapit[3] cepit flere ·
et verbis simplicib*us* ita r*espo*ndere ·
Qui uiue*n*do potui m*u*ltis inperare ·
auru*m* nu*m*mos p*r*edia ge*m*mas co*n*gregare
castellas. co*n*stru*er*e ge*n*tes i*n*iudicare [= iudicare]
putas ne q*uod* credidi tumulu*m* intrare ·
[non ;] s*ed* modo video *et* e*st* michi clar*um*
q*uod* nec auri dom*inus* nec diuitiar*um* ·
nec vis n*e*c pote*n*cia nec gen*us* p*r*eclar*um*
mort*is* poss*u*nt fug*er*e tumulu*m* amar*um* ·
a*m*bo dico possum*us* a chr*ist*o culpari
q*uod* debem*us* utiq*ue* s*ed* no*n* culpa pari
Tibi culpa g*r*auior deb*et* i*m*putari ·
m*u*ltis r*ationi*b*us* p*o*te*s*t hoc p*r*obari ·
a sensato quolib*et* hoc no*n* ignoratur ·
tuq*ue* scis p*er*optim*e* l*it*era testat*ur*
q*uod* cui maior gracia v*ir*tutis donatur ·
ab eo vult r*at*io q*uod* m*a*g*is* exigat*ur*

[1] Read *Si*. [2] Read *nolunt*? [3] For *statim*, in anticipation of *cepit*.

vitam et memoriam sic et intellectum ·
tibi dedit dominus et sensum perfectum ·
quibus tu comp[escer]e deberes effectum
prauum · et diligere quidquid erat rectum ·
postquam tu virtutibus dotata fuisti
et cum fatue mihi pronam te dedisti
meisque blandiciis et non resti[ti]sti ·
satis patet omnibus quod plus deliquisti ·
Corpus dixit iterum corde cum amaro ·
Dic michi si noueris argumento claro
exeunte spiritu carnem quid sit caro ·
mouet se ne sepius postea uel raro ·
videt ne uel loquitur non est ergo clarum
quod spiritus viuificat corpus prodest parum
Si haberet anima deum suum carum ·
nunquam caro vinceret vires animarum ·
Si deum cum vixeras amasses perfecte ·
et si causas pauperum iudicasses recte
Si prauorum hominum non[1] adhesisses secte ·
non me mundi vanitas decepisset nec te ·
tamen quia fueram tibi viuens ficta ·
ea que non respicis mihi sunt relicta
putredo cum vermibus et hec domus stricta ·
quibus sum assidue firmiter afflicta ·
Scioque preterea quod sum surrectura ·
In die nouissimo tecumque passura ·
penas que in perpetuum o mors plusquam dura
fol. 2 v° [mors interminabilis f]ine caritura
¶ Ad hoc clamat anima voce cum obscura ·
heu quod vnquam suberam rerum in natura ·
cur permisit dominus quod essem creatura
Sua cum prenouerat quod essem peritura
O felix condicio pecorum brutorum ·

[1] So also Wright; the better reading *Nec prauorum hominum adhesisses* is found in Du Mér. and v. Kar. Cp. v. Stökken.

cadu[n]t cu*m* corp*or*ib*us* sp*iritu*s eo*rum*
nec p*os*t morte*m* subeu*n*t loca torme*n*tor*um*
Talis esset vt*inam* finis i*m*pior*um*
¶ Corp*us* adhuc loquit*ur* a*n*i*m*e ta*m* tristi ·
Si [tu] ap*u*d inferos a*n*i*m*a fuisti ·
dic michi te dep*re*cor q*uid* ibi vidisti ·
que spes sit miseris[1] de dulcore chr*isti* ·
Dic si q*uid* nob*i*lib*us* p*re*catur p*er*sonis ·
ill*is* q*ui* du*m* vixera*n*t sedeba*n*t in tronis ·
Si sit illis aliqu*a* spes rede*m*pt*io*nis
p*ro* nu*m*mis *uel* p*re*diis cet*er*is q*ue* donis
¶ O corp*us* hec q*ue*stio car*et* r*atio*ne
que se*mel* intrant baratru*m* q*ue*cu*n*q*ue* p*er*sone
mortales subaudias p*ro* t*r*ansgressione ·
no*n* es spes ult*erius* per rede*m*pcione ·
nec p*er* ele*m*osinas nec or*acio*ne ·
Si tota deuocio fideliu*m* oraret ·
Si tota religio ieiuniis vacar*et* ·
Si mu*n*dus pecunia*m* tota*m* sua*m* dar*et* ·
In i*n*fernu*m* positu*m* nu*m*qu*am* liberar*et* ·
q*uia* dei gracia qu*am*uis illic car*et* ·
no*n* dar*et* dya*b*o*lus* ferus *et* effrenis ·
vna*m* e*n*te*m* a*n*i*m*am i*n* suis cathenis ·
pro toti*us* sec*u*li p*re*diis terrenis ·
nec q*uandoque* sine*r*et q*uod* carer*et* penis ·
Ad hoc q*uod* i*n*t*er*rogas si a*liqui*d p*re*catur
p*er*sonis nob*i*lib*us* no*n* lex q*uoque* datur ·
quod i*n* tanto q*u*is sec*u*lo magis exaltat*ur*
Tanto cadit graui*us* si tra*n*sgrediat*ur* ·
Diues ergo morie*n*s q*ui* viu*us* sublimatur ·
graui*us* p*re* cet*er*is penis i*m*plicat*ur*
p*os*tqu*am* tales a*n*i*m*a dixiss*et* merores ·
Ecce duo demones pice nig*r*iores ·
quor*um* turpitudi*n*es toti*us* scriptores ·

[1] The scribe probably intended *miserrimis* but failed to write it. Wr. and v. Kar. both have *si qua spes;* Du Mér. has *si quidquid sit.*

mu*n*di · no*n* desc*r*ibe*r*ent nec pi*n*ge*r*ent pictores ·
ferreas fustin*u*las ma*n*ib*us* fere*n*tes
igne*m* sulphureu*m* · p*er* os emitte*n*tes ·
Sim*i*les ligonib*us* s*unt* eor*um* de*n*tes ·
Ex eor*um* narib*us* p*r*odeu*n*t serpe*n*tes ·
su*n*t eor*um* oc*u*li vt pelues arde*n*tes ·
Suis su*n*t i*n* frontib*us* cornua gere*n*tes ·
per ex*tre*ma cornuu*m* venena fu*n*dentes ·
aures habe*n*t patulas sanie flue*n*tes ·
Digitor*um* vngule vt apror*um* de*n*tes ·
Isti cu*m* fustin*u*lis a*nim*am ceperu*n*t ·
qu*am* mox apud inferos inpetu traxeru*n*t ·
quib*us* ia*m* dyaboli p*ar*uuli occurreru*n*t ·
qui p*ro* ta*n*to soc*i*o gaudiu*m* feceru*n*t ·
et illi cu*m* t*a*lib*us* ludis applauseru*n*t ·
Quida*m* vinc*u*lis ferreis ve*n*tre*m* ligau*eru*nt
nodatis corrigiis ea*m* cecideru*n*t ·
quida*m* os stercorib*us* suis i*m*pleueru*n*t ·
quida*m* plu*m*bu*m* feruidu*m*[1] intro p*r*oieceru*n*t ·
et i*n* ei*us* oc*u*lis q*u*ida*m* co*m*mixeru*n*t ·
quida*m* suis de*n*tib*us* fro*n*te*m* corroseru*n*t
quida*m* suis ung*u*lis lat*er*a ruperu*n*t ·
quida*m* suis cornub*us* ea*m* co*m*pu*n*xeru*n*t
et a toto cor*por*e pelle*m* abstraxeru*n*t ·
post h*e*c dicu*n*t de*m*ones f*er*e fatigati ·
hii qui nob*is* seruiu*n*t sic su*n*t honorati ·
nu*n*du*m* . . . . .

3. A Translation of the Poem.

The following translation is based on the text of Du Méril, which is the fullest and most correct of the four printed texts and probably represents the later and completer form of the poem. In general I have tried to make

[1] The scribe first wrote *ferreum*, then drew a line through it.

the translation interpretative rather than literal. The ordinary numerals refer to the lines of Du Méril's text; the starred numerals refer roughly to the lines of Wright's text.

Long ago there was a certain man, a recluse, Fulbert, born a Frenchman, whose fair life, while he lived in the world, was thus spent apart; and verily the words he spake were words of wisdom. He was, indeed, a king's son, who for the whole space of his earthly life withdrew himself from the evils of the world. And this was the vision which appeared to him.

10 "In the stillness of a winter's night, while little devoted
to sleep, with spiritual sight I beheld a body bereft of the
breath of life, of whom the following vision was granted me.
While I was sleeping a little, weary with vigils, lo, a soul,
lately come out of the body I have spoken of, weighed down
by sins, with groans was bewailing the vile deeds of the
10* body. Near the latter it stood, weeping, and with these
words bitterly upbraided the body:

"'Oh, wretched Flesh, who hath brought thee thus low—
20 thee, whom the world enriched with so many estates? But
yesterday did not the world lie beneath thy feet? Did not
the whole province stand in awe of thee? Where now is the
troop of slaves that followed at thy heels? Thy flourishing
tail, is it not now cut off? Thou art not now in castles of
squared stone, nor in splendid palaces; thou who, borne
20* away on a small bier, now liest in a tomb full narrow. Of
30 what avail are thy palaces, or thy temples? Thy grave now
takes in scarce seven feet. The man whom thou didst
unjustly condemn thou wilt now harm no more. Through
thee a dwelling has been given us in hell. I, who was
created so noble, in the likeness of the Lord, and destined to
bring forth good fruit with thee,—I am sore disfigured by
thy crimes. Oh, accursed flesh! with me thou art damned.
If thou knewest the torments that have been made ready for
30* 40 us, truly thou couldst say, *Alas! why was I born? Would*

that I had been borne at once to the grave! It is not strange, I grant, that while thou wast alive thou wouldst let me do nothing good, but didst ever tempt me to the basest crimes, for which we shall dwell in grief forever. In the sharpest pains I am and ever shall remain. Not a tongue in all the world could describe the least single one of the torments which unhappy I endure; yet however much I sorrow, I can hope for no forgiveness.

"'Where are now the estates which thou hast got together, or the lofty palaces and castles which thou hast built, or the rings begemmed which have adorned thy fingers, or the hoard of gold which thou hast too greatly loved? Where are thy rich beds, inviting to calm sleep, thy changes of richly colored robes, thy toothsome spices, thy cups, thy table, thy garments of snowy whiteness? Where, pray, are thy birds, or thy choice wines, or thy noble fish ponds, or thy deer? Not of swans, not of cranes doth thy kitchen now savor; thou art now the food of worms—this is heaven's law. How does thy house now please thee? Doth not its peak lie above thy nose? No member now remains to hoard money; at last thine eyes are shut, thy tongue is still. Whatever wealth according to thy wretched habit thou hast been able with the hard labor of years to amass through craft, fraud, usury, or fear of thy harsh rule, all this the destiny of a single hour hath swept away. No longer art thou surrounded by bands of thy friends, for by death the flower of thy glory hath fallen; every bond of love hath been shattered; even the tears of thy wife have now dried. Henceforth hope no more in thy kinsfolk; thine heir but a moment grieves over thy death, for to him are still left lands, wine, and goods, and treasure in abundance, for which thou wilt suffer torture. Think not that thy wife or thy children would give five acres of upland or meadow that we, who have now been removed from middle earth, might be redeemed from the pains we must suffer.

"'Now thou knowest, wretched Flesh, how far from secure is the worthless glory of the world, how deceitful, how

bestrewn with afflictions, how polluted with vices, how wretchedly infected with the poison of devils. Thou art not now clad in costly robes; thy cloak is worth scarce two farthings; thou liest wrapped in a paltry sheet; not now do even beggars bring thee tribute. And while thou art now allowed to be free from torture, thou shalt never be released from punishment; for the authority of all the prophets testifies that soon thou shalt suffer torments with me. Since thou wast not a father but a robber of the poor, the worms are now eating thy rotting flesh. But I can not stand here further; I must now go back. Thou canst not, methinks, answer these arguments.'

"After the soul had spoken these words, at length the body raised itself as if it had come back to life. After it had uttered many groans it asked who had spoken such words.

"'Is it thou, my Soul,' it said, 'who speakest thus? Not wholly true are the things thou chatterest; for I shall prove more fully, with clear arguments, that though some things may be true, on many points thou speakest nonsense. Many times, I grant, have I made thee to stray from the path of good deeds. But if the body causes the soul to err, the greater is the fault of the soul. Listen and I will tell thee why.

"'The world and the devil have made a pact and have leagued with them wretched flesh;[1] now if the energy of the

[1] The same idea is similarly expressed by Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, in his *Cantilena de Lucta Carnis et Spiritus*, stanza 5:

Mundus et dæmonium
  Fidem sanxere mutuam,
Fraudis ad consortum,
  Carnem trahentes fatuam:
    Sic per proditorias blanditias
  Insidias procurant:
    Et in mortem animæ miserrimæ
  Nequissime conjurant.

The complete poem may be found in Migne, *Patrologia*, ccvii. cols. 1127–1130.

soul ceases to hold the flesh in check,[1] both in truth fall into
110* the slough of sin. But, as thou hast just said, God created
thee both good and noble, endowed thee with sense, and at
the same time formed thee in his own likeness, and gave me
to be thy maidservant. Therefore, if thou wast created
mistress, and wast endowed with reason, by which thou
120 shouldst rule us in the world, why didst thou smile upon my
unlawful pleasures and not protest? Not the body, but the
soul, doth justice condemn, since the soul, who should be
120* mistress, allows itself to become the servant. For the soul,
if it would rule as mistress, must vanquish the body through
hunger, thirst, stripes. The body can do nothing without
thesoul, by whose aid it is kept alive. If, therefore, the
body is not held in check by the soul, it soon becomes infatu-
ated with the delights of the world. The body signifies
130 nothing without the soul. From thee whatever I have done
first issued. If I persecute just men, thy fault is the greater.
130* The body without the soul sleeps the sleep of death. If the
will of the soul in action is led by its handmaid the body,
why should the body be blamed? The fault attaches to the
soul, by whose order is performed whatever the frail body
does in life. After all, he sins the more deeply, I say, and
believe me, who follows the desire of a weak and contempti-
ble body.—But the worms are devouring my flanks here in
140 this abode: what shall I say further? Yield thee, Soul!'

"To this the soul replied: 'I will maintain the contest
140* with thee, and, if I can, will reconsider thy words, however
bitterly thou speakest to me, Body, wishing to lay the whole
fault at my door. Oh, wretched Flesh, who living wast
foolish, idle, weak, from whom hast thou learned such bitter
words as those thou hast now used? Nevertheless, in some
150 respects thou didst say truly. It is true, I know, that I
ought to have opposed thy will; but thy weakness, prone to

[1] Here I follow Du Méril's suggested emendation, reading *coercere*, which, it will be noticed, is the reading of von Stökken's text.

pleasure, given up to the joys of the world, would not suffer
150* this. When I wished, Body, to subdue thee with the rod, or
with vigils, or with hunger, anon the vanity of the world
began to loose thy bridle and compelled thee to give thyself
up to its worthless trifles. And thus thou didst assume
dominion over me; but thou wast a traitress of mine own
household; for through the allurements of the world thou
160 didst draw me after thee and plunge me into the delightsome
pit of sin. I know I am to blame; for in this have I
160* erred, that though I was mistress, I did not check thee. But
when thou didst deceive me with such sweet fraud, I believe
thou didst earn the heavier penalty. If thou, foolish one,
hadst despised the pleasures of the world, the snares of the
Plotter, as well as the cunning of the enchanting Evil Spirit,
and hadst heeded the warnings of the God of heaven, we
should now be with the saints. But when the fraud of the
170 world smiled upon thee, only a little while before, and surely
promised thee length of days, thou thoughtest not to die;
170* but death shattered this hope when he sent thee from the
palace to the grave. The world has the custom of deceptive
men: those whom it the more fondly embraces, on whom it
showers the more honors, them it traps the more speedily
through the rigor of the law, and after delights it gives
them worms and stench. Those who were friends in thy
lifetime refuse to look upon thee lying in the grave.'

180 "On hearing this the body at once began to weep, and in
humble words replied thus:

180* "'I, who in life could command thousands, could heap
together gold, gems, estates, money, could build castles, could
administer laws to nations, dost thou believe I ever thought
to enter the tomb? No; but now I see, and it is clear to
me, that neither the possessor of gold or riches, nor might,
nor power, nor lordly race can escape the bitter tomb.

190 "'We are both worthy to be condemned by God, and both
ought to be, but not with equal blame. The greater fault
190* should be ascribed to thee: this can be proved with many

reasons. No sensible man ignores the fact, attested alike by law and by reason, that from him who is endowed with the greatest wealth of powers the most wisdom is to be demanded. The Lord endowed thee not only with life and memory, but also with intellect and complete sense; with these thou shouldest have held in check thy depraved affections, and straightened that which was crooked. Since thou wast adorned with so many virtues, and yet foolishly gavest thyself over to me and too feebly resisted my blandishments, it is clear enough to all that thou wast all the more at fault. Moreover,—and I am now allowed to speak with a sad heart of what, at length disclosed to me, is a clear argument,—when the soul has left the body, what is the body? Does it move itself afterward either forthwith or seldom? Does it see, or does it speak? This is therefore plain: the soul gives life, while the body has little strength. And if the soul held its God dear, the body would never overcome the powers of the soul. If while living thou hadst loved God perfectly, and if thou hadst judged the lawsuits of the poor with justice, and not clung to the life of evil men, the vanity of the world had deceived neither me nor thee. I, who lived clad in splendid silks, behold, what there is left me of it all: rottenness, with worms and this narrow house, to which I am doomed after the delights of the world! And I know, moreover, that I shall arise with thee at the last day, and shall with thee suffer eternal death; alas! grievous is that death, interminable, knowing no end!'

"To this replied the soul in a choking voice: 'Alas, that ever I lived in the realm of nature! Why did the Lord allow me to be created, since I was marked out to perish? Oh, blessed condition of the brute beasts! For with their bodies die also their souls, nor after death do they pass to the place of torments. Would that such were the end of the wicked!'

"The body now spake to the sad soul: 'If thou wast among the dead, Soul, tell me, I pray thee, what sawest thou

there? Is there among the wretched ones aught of the sweetness of Christ? What is there prepared for the nobles who, while they lived, sat on thrones? Have they any hope of redemption on account of their money, their estates, their other goods?'

"'Thy question, Body, is without sense. When the damned enter the country of the dead, there is no further hope of redemption, either through alms or through prayer. If all the pious faithful should pray forever, and should give themselves up to perpetual fasting, if the world should lay down all its wealth, never would it free one placed in hell. The Devil, fierce and ungoverned, would not give up a single soul bound in his chains for a hundred thousand earthly estates, nor would he allow it a moment's respite from punishment.

"'Dost thou ask what is prepared there for persons of noble rank? This is the law: the more one is exalted in the world, the greater is that man's fall if he sin. The rich man dying, therefore, if he is damned, is visited with grievous pains far beyond other men; for the greater was his delight in worldly joys, the more severe the penalty meted out to him.'

"After the soul had uttered these bitter words, behold, two devils blacker than pitch, whom all the writers in the world could not describe fully nor all the painters clearly paint, bearing in their hands iron goads, from their mouths belching sulphurous fire, having teeth like grub-axes, from whose nostrils snakes seemed to dart, whose eyes were like lavers of fire, whose huge ears were flowing with gore, and who bore on their brows horns which poured forth poison from the tips—these devils seized the soul with tongs and bore it groaning with them to hell. Soon malignant demons rushed up on all sides and as they danced around gnashed their teeth at it; and while they were mocking it in this wise, some bound it tightly with leather thongs, some tore it on iron hooks, some poured melted lead into it, some threw in fetid dung, some emptied their own bowels into its face, some

gnawed it with their teeth, and finally they tore the skin from the body. At length, when they had tired, the demons said to the soul:

"'Thus are those in our service chastised. Thou couldst now speak as did the toad to the harrow; but thou shalt suffer a hundred fold worse torments than these.'

"A little after this the soul groaned and in feeble tones murmured, as it passed the threshold of the pit, and he to whom praise resounded was 'Jesus, son of David!'

"But the demons with loud clamoring replied:

"'Too late dost thou call upon the name of thy God; little avails now thy *Lord, have mercy on me!*; no further hope hast thou of pardon or of rest. Thou shalt never see the light of another day. The grace of thy figure shall be transformed. Henceforward thou shalt be joined to our ranks; for thus are the damned consoled in the world of hell.'

"When I had seen these things, in my sleep, I became greatly terrified and, carried out of myself, I forthwith awoke; and uplifting my hands, I cried out to God, praying that He would protect me from a punishment so terrible. And I put away the world with its empty trifles; gold, gems, and estates I counted worthless; I renounced all transitory things; and I commended myself wholly to the hands of Christ.

"Lo,[1] the world is dead; it is buried in sin; the right ordering of life has been overturned; the wise man is a fool; Justice is an exile; the worship of God has ceased; pain and strife are ever in the world. In these days the earth is coming to its end; Jupiter and Phœbus are again worshipped; for whoever has money and abounds in wealth, he is worshipped as Christ, and is sheltered behind armies. And the divine virtues of faith, hope, and charity are almost

[1] The next section, ll. 309–360, is found, in the printed editions, only in von Stökken and Du Méril; it is probably a late addition to the poem, tacked on by a pious monk for whom the times were out of joint.

choked up; deceit and avarice and their offspring, at length rule throughout the earth.

"If thou be of noble family and calm in demeanor, kindly and humble, and have had the best of breeding, these things shall avail thee nought if thou art in want, for only wealth gives position and family. If only I be clad in splendid robes, and be surrounded by a multitude of servants, I am prudent and clever and affable; I am thy favorite and thy kinsman.[1] When these things disappear, at once vanishes our relations, love grows cold, recognition ceases; he now knows me not, who while I was rich, rose obsequiously to give place to me. Oh, marvelous vanity! Oh, deplorable love of wealth! Oh, bitter poison! Why dost thou slaughter so many noble men, by making dear to them that which vanishes more quickly than a blaze of tow? If wealth could give the rich three things, the bloom of youth, escape from death, and issue fair and long-lived, then the rich might well amass wealth. But think, wretched man! Death fetters all; what, from the beginning of the world, hath not yielded to death? He who lives to-day, to-morrow perchance rots in his grave; death knows not how to spare any man.

"When the roof of the house lies above the nose, then the whole joy of the world is as pleasing as the mire. Not then has one leisure for trifles or sports; then truth appears, and deceit is utterly silent. Then craft is not deemed prudence, nor is the will of the rich man then law; then every one is rewarded according to his deserts, since the race of men is doomed to death.

"No one knows whither he goes after death, wherefore every wise man speaks thus of himself:

"'I tremble continually when my mind ponders what I am, and whither I hasten, and what is prepared for me. When I think upon death, I become sad and weep; one [the first] thing is that I shall die, but the time [the second

[1] Von Stökken's text is possibly better here: "and thou my kinsman."

thing] I know not; the third thing is that I know not to what company I shall be joined; but I pray that I may be added to the people of God. Amen.'"

Through[1] Moses learn of the law, through Elijah learn of the prophets; the former was a law-giver, the latter a prophet. By their sayings, if thou understandest the sacred words, are taught the passion, the resurrection, the glory of Christ. The rich hath brought the poor, and the vine which was cultivated at divers times hath borne fruit. Those the first hour holds; these, the third; the sixth hour, those following; the ninth, the new ones; the last hour, the others; the first, the milk of infancy; the third, down on the cheek; the sixth, sense; the ninth, gray hairs; the last, quivering.

CLARK SUTHERLAND NORTHUP.

[1] The last ten lines of Du Méril's text do not appear in any of the other printed editions, and Du Méril remarks that they are not found even in the Brussels MS. Written in a different metre, they clearly have no organic connection even with ll. 309–360, to say nothing of the main part of the *Dialogus*; to which, I am inclined to think, it was never intended that they should be attached.